

JPRS-EPS-84-139

8 November 1984

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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8 November 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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MODERNIZATION OF BORDER FORTIFICATIONS REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German No 8, Aug 84 pp 430-431

[Article by 'r': "BGS (West German Border Forces) Activity Report for 1983--GDR Automatic Firing Devices Replaced by Modernized Fences"]

[Text] The recently-published "West German Border Forces Activity Report for 1983" gives an impressive overview of the activities of the West German border patrol (BGS). The main task of the border patrol units continued to be the surveillance of West Germany's borders with the GDR and Czechoslovakia by means of sentries and patrols. The following activities were reported for 1983:

- o 53,646 combined foot/vehicle patrols (847,800 man-hours)
- o 2,280 border patrol flights by helicopter (4,293 flight-hours)
- o 237 marine patrols in waters near the borders, and
- o 854 patrols on the Baltic Sea (49,479 nautical miles)

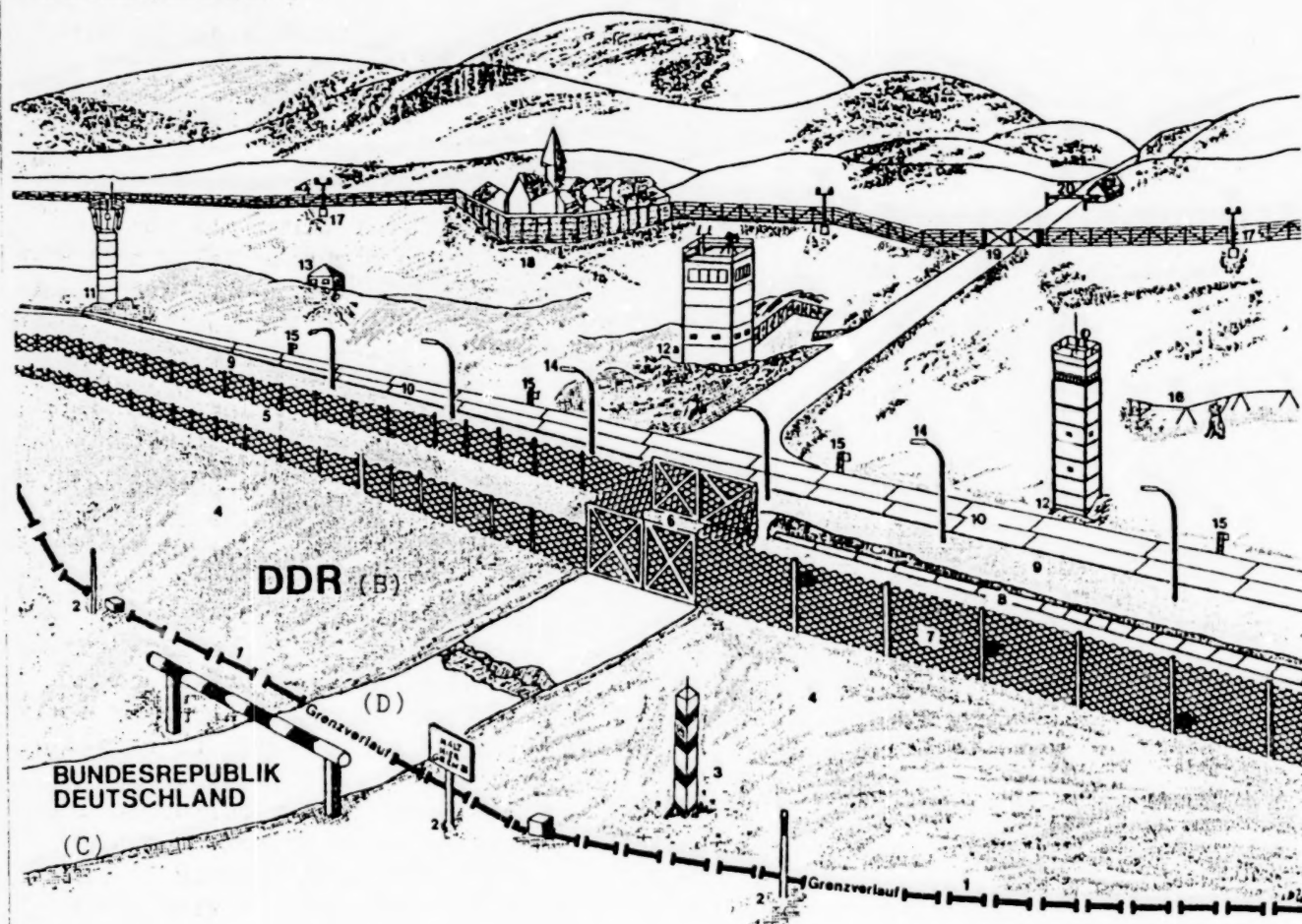
In addition, units of the BGS were employed in Bonn and Karlsruhe (location of the Federal Constitutional Court) for the protection of constitutional organs of the state and federal ministries, where various demonstrations necessitated heavy reinforcements. Units of the BGS were used on several occasions in the Laender in support of regional police during large-scale demonstrations and other activities staged by the "peace movement", opponents of nuclear power and opponents of expansion of the Frankfurt/Main airport. Initial successes in its new area of environmental protection activity during the year covered by the report were registered by BGS patrol boats and helicopters in the North Sea: 52 instances of water pollution were detected during 72 marine patrol flights of a total of 205 flight-hours and 380 marine patrols of a total of 25,443 nautical miles; those responsible were charged. In 1983, rescue helicopters of the disaster control service flown by BGS pilots and serviced by BGS ground crews flew around 15,300 missions in aid of over 13,300 patients, in search of missing persons and to transport medicines, blood for transfusion and organs for transplant.

A number of tasks were completed by members of the BGS in individual border patrol service: Their activities ranged from prevention of illegal entry by foreign nationals to anti-terrorist and anti-drug smuggling activities and tracking down of illegally employed foreign nationals in the Federal Republic of Germany. Among other things, members of the BGS were able to apprehend a large ring of criminals who were not only engaged in drug smuggling but also were flying Thai "ladies of the night" into the Federal Republic of Germany illegally via Westerland on the island of Sylt.

The report devotes a special section to activities on West Germany's borders with the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Among others, notable occurrences at the intra-German border which are mentioned in the report include 15 violations of West German air space by Warsaw Pact aircraft (penetration of up to 75 km) and 15 border crossings by so-called border reconnaissance personnel of the "GDR border troops". The report makes clear that the dismantling of SM-70 automatic firing devices which began in September 1983 occurred primarily at points visited by large numbers of observers on the West German side of the border, i.e. at places where large numbers of foreigners and West German citizens were informed of the border fortifications of the GDR. By the end of 1983, SM-70 automatic firing devices had been dismantled along approx. 47 km of a total of 439.5 km of border along which they had originally been installed at chain link fences from the end of 1970 to August 1983. Before dismantling of the SM-70s began, however, modification of the fence along the protection strip was started. This fence runs parallel to the forward fence installation and separates the roughly 500 m wide "protection strip" from the hinterland of the GDR, and therefore represents the first obstacle to refugees. Whereas the old fence was only approx. 2 m high and was fitted only along its bottom half with chain link mats which were partially buried in the ground and had 13 signal wires above them, the new fence is approx. 3 m high, has chain link mats up to its full height, and is fitted with roughly 25 signal wires. Buried concrete slabs prevent the fence from being crawled under, and T- or V-shaped guard rails with an additional eight signal wires prevent it from being climbed over. In some areas, a second single chain link fence has been installed on the West German side of and parallel to the modified fence; the space between the two fences is patrolled by unchained guard dogs.

All in all, the BGS activity report summarizes, the GDR system of fortifications has by no means become easier to penetrate due to the removal of the SM-70 death machines. The number of "blockade runners", those who by risking life and limb are able to directly penetrate the border fortifications, was therefore also extremely low (51 as compared to 72 in 1982). A total of nine of them were uniformed refugees who knew how to defeat the deadly installations. Three of the refugees were severely wounded while crossing the border. In roughly 30 cases the escape attempt failed directly in the area of the fortifications. The drawing taken from the BGS activity report shows the modified structure of the GDR border fortifications.

DDR-Grenzsperranlagen (A)



(Legend on following page)

Legend:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Border with boundary stones | 11 Concrete observation tower (BT 11) |
| 2 Border sign/stake directly on West German side of border | 12 Concrete observation tower (2 x 2 m) |
| 3 GDR border post (approx. 1.8 m high; black, red and gold with GDR emblem) | 12a Concrete observation tower (4 x 4 m with control position) |
| 4 Deforested and cleared strip of land | 13 Observation bunker |
| 5 Double chain link fence (approx. 2.4 m high; space between fences is partially mined) | 14 Light barrier |
| 6 Gates in chain link fence | 15 Connection post for buried border communications cable system |
| 7 Single chain link fence (approx. 3.2 m high with automatic firing devices) | 16 Dog run |
| 8 Anti-vehicle ditch (lined by concrete slabs) | 17 Protection strip fence with electrical and acoustic alarm systems |
| 9 Surveillance strip approx. 6 m wide (for tracking purposes) | 18 Concrete wall (obstruction of vision) |
| 10 Convoy path with perforated concrete slabs for wheel support | 19 Gate in protection strip fence |
| | 20 Checkpoint |
| | (A) GDR Border Fortifications |
| | (B) GDR |
| | (C) FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY |
| | (D) Border |

12644

CSO: 2300/37

EXPERIMENTS IN ROCK THEATER MEET WITH DISTRUST

Bonn DIE WELT in German 28 Sep 84 p 25

[Text] It is important, East Berlin composer Achim Kielpinski recently explained, to give the "somewhat dusty" "GDR" theater world a push. This is because in addition to "the traditional forms," "a rock theater could have interesting things to offer to a young audience," he said. Kielpinski's troupe is called "The Traveling Storytellers," and is made up of young actors, puppeteers, singers and rock musicians. They have in common a desire to produce rock theater in cooperation with East Berlin theaters in order to develop new audiences for "GDR" theater, which is suffering from a decline in attendance. For this reason, the actors invented a fable. The story "Who is Harry Hasenleder?" is told in song, performed in masks and costumes, the music comes from the band, sung live by microphone. It was a great success.

Rock theater--this is the new magic word within the "GDR" theater world. The East Berlin magazine MELODIE UND RHYTHMUS wrote, "Something new is emerging, it is still being experimented with, but something is developing that we can look forward to--it is needed."

Up to now, rock theater has been seen in the "GDR" mainly in foreign productions, Tibor Dery's "Fictitious Report on an American Pop Festival" from Hungary, for example. In the meantime, the Rostock People's Theater has opened its doors to the "Badister" amateur beat group, in order to jointly stage the rock operas "Pink Leaves" and "Magic Spells" (libretti by Waltraud Lewin, music by Horst Kruger). The Leipzig Playhouse followed with the "Rock Ballad" of Andreas Knaup (lyrics) and Thomas Burkholz (music), while the musical "Marie and a Lucky Dog" by the same composers was performed in Rostock.

The Potsdam Hans-Otto Theater has also recently been pursuing the course of combining theater and rock music through its production of the world premiere of Bernd Weissig's "Show of the Year." The title: "So Long, Cello!" A play about married guitarist "Ente," who meets the girl "Miezie" while on tour. From this fleeting, but very momentous meeting, the author has developed a series of everyday "GDR" scenes: her pregnancy, her studies jeopardized, her abortion; his marriage problems and happy divorce.

The characters speak in casual, everyday language, there are colorful masks, costumes, a humorous set, and the hard rock music of the band "Keefa," which is made up of music students. The audience, predominantly young people, displayed enthusiastic interest in this "Show of the Year" during the premiere.

A number of cultural functionaries and critics are reacting to the new experiments with great distrust. Thus, the East Berlin SONNTAG complained about the non-political lyrics, "which came off at times as too smooth and operetta-like or excessively literary," and the journal THEATER DER ZEIT faulted the new plays in the "GDR" theater world for their insufficient ideological statement. At the same time, the warning was issued that the theater could "unconsciously slip backwards into forms of yesterday and the day before (cliches, illustrative whitewash...)."

The radio station "Voice of the GDR" sensed the danger that "a reactionary body of thought" could creep into rock theater, while the magazine MELODIE UND RHYTHMUS, read predominantly by young people, admitted that the "GDR" theater world could well make use of rock theater "with singer-performers in a new format." This timid admission underscores the dilemma in which "GDR" artists find themselves: on the one hand, state prescribed abstinence with regard to cultural influences from the West, while on the other hand the legitimate need to experiment with problems judged as politically different and with new formal media. The entire "GDR" theater world is, incidentally, suffering from this conflict; it is still showing a decline in attendance.

12271

CSO: 2300/54

EAST BERLIN'S VERSION OF FRG 'SQUATTERS'

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 4 Oct 84 p 3

[Text] Berlin, 3 October--The young man was unconcealed in his pride: "You people know nothing about this at all. We have squatters here too." Here was East Berlin, and the young man was taking a long walk with his visitor through the Prenzlauer Berg working-class neighborhood. Squatters? In view of the houses largely in need of renovation, the concept of "squatting and restoring" comes immediately to mind. "No, no," the East Berlin student says; apartment squatting takes place virtually in secret in comparison with the campaigns in the West, and there is at any rate no "alternative scene" of any kind.

Then he tells his story: unhappy in the dormitory and thrown out by his girlfriend after a half a year of sharing an apartment, he decides to "take" an apartment. Friends look around in the neighborhoods with old buildings until one of them tips him off that an apartment across the street is vacant. When it is certain that no one in fact lives there, the student goes to the manager of the apartment building. The importance of such contact can be seen when the young man says energetically that he will now take the apartment simply because he needs it. Someone like you was just here a couple of days ago, the manager says, but I threw that guy out immediately.

In this case, however, he allows himself to be persuaded and winks at the arrangement. The student quickly signs the roster of tenants, opens the apartment door more by cunning than by force and with the help of friends moves furniture in. Now registration with the police and the rent payment to the Municipal Housing Office (KWV), and everything is taken care of. Now, the student says, the housing office can send someone else to move in all it wants. If they want him, the student, to move out of the apartment, he says, they must give him another one. From his window the young man sees a house which alone contains three apartments with "squatters"--quiet, inconspicuous and permanent. In the meantime, he is already looking around at old Berlin courtyard houses for a vacant old apartment for another friend.

The audacity of simply taking what one needs is apparently tolerated or goes unnoticed. The threat of being fined between 150 and 500 marks does not deter the students. Why do they pay rent since they are doing something unlawful

anyway? "If I don't pay, I'm defrauding the state. And I can go to jail for that," the student says. Yet some risk even that, it is said.

The East Berlin squatter does not even view apartment squatting, which is only possible in old apartment buildings that can scarcely be filled, as a serious offense. Experience with a rigid and slow bureaucracy has led him and his friends to a course of action. Squatters in East Berlin are, unlike those in West Germany, with whom they might be compared, not on a collision course with "their" state. "I wouldn't call my friends and myself intellectuals," the student says, "but I'm certain that we are going to bring about a tremendous amount of progress in the GDR within a few years."

12271

CSO: 2300/54

SPIRITED SEJM DEBATE ON GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC PROGRAMS DETAILED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Sep 84 pp 1,2

[Article by (Ch)]

[Text] (Own service) The packet of economic matters which the deputies, together with representatives of other commissions, took up on the 25th of this month on the second day of the session of the Commission of Planning, Budget and Finances, would actually be sufficient for several sessions of several hours. Under discussion were the premises of the CPR [Central Annual Plan] for 1985, the results of anti-inflationary actions and of the savings program. In trying to find a common leitmotive, however, one had to admit that the debate was characterized by the increasing necessity of making choices in the economy.

Already at the very beginning, Deputy Premier Manfred Gorywoda, who as the chairman of the Planning Commission reported the results of the consultations on the plan assumptions, showed--as if anticipating the deputies' questions--to what extent the enormous losses which the economy had suffered as the result of the collapse can be made up for if all the plans for 1985 are carried out. Thus, if everything goes well and next year's plan is realized, by the end of 1985 the national income produced will be lower by 11 percent than in 1979 and the income for distribution, as the result of the foreign debt burden, will be lower by 15 percent. This forejudges the possibilities in the sphere of consumption, which will be smaller by 9.5 to 10 percent, and in the sphere of investments, where the outlays will be 40 percent lower than in 1979.

The above provided a background for later deliberations on the subject of consultations. When funds are so low and the needs so increasingly pressing, the choice of the goal, and especially the renunciation of many needs, becomes practically dramatic. Prof Stanislaw Kuzminski, who took the floor next, talked about it with regard to investments, but in fact it applied to the majority of the plan issues. In this situation, the appeal to public opinion and the carrying out of a broad consultation indeed is meritorious, besides being enormously educational, as the deputies pointed out. Thus Manfred Gorywoda presented to the deputies the observations and major areas which were the subject of discussion and of the submitted postulates. Many of them dealt with immediate concerns, but some reflected on the problem of how our current

actions fit into the frame of long-term plans and needs, for example the need to bridge the technological gap, to prevent decapitalization, and the need for structural changes.

The consultation showed that the majority of submitted opinions approved a balance, and the Planning Commission received over 600 motions including various groups of problems, although there were also voices expressing a different view. The latter ones were voiced by representatives of the lowest income groups. In the course of the consultation the need for a better use of technological progress and science was suggested, quality and management were discussed and the necessity for focusing on basic goals in order to avoid the danger of excessive dispersion of forces and means were pointed out.

There were also many critical voices concerning, for example, preferential wage treatment and the abuse of the right to social benefits.

Many of the suggestions above all concerned investments. In this regard many critical remarks and opinions were addressed to the Planning Commission for wanting to limit production investments of industrial enterprises while not limiting the investments which were being realized as the legacy of the old program. I must admit that it was the first time I heard the chairman of the Planning Commission admit publicly in the Sejm a change in evaluations. As a result of the weakness of the information system, there is insufficient understanding of this sphere. A recently created more specific informational system has brought a more correct picture of the situation in investments. The transgressions are considerable, they indeed concern the investment of enterprises and not industrial enterprises. For this reason, the counter-acting of the pressure of investments must be effective and selective, but at the same time it cannot impair the capacities of the industrial branches especially important for meeting the needs.

The investments transgressions concern, for example, the sphere of housing construction. Here again the curbs are not aimed at halting housing construction, but above all, as the deputies also pointed out, at halting the skyrocketing and unjustified growth of the costs of this construction.

The theme threads were numerous. On behalf of the team of Sejm advisers, Prof Kuzinski stressed that balance was a correct choice of a strategic goal because until now a harmonious development of the economy was in general sacrificed on behalf of dynamic growth, with known results. At the same time, his pronouncement and the pronouncements of many deputies did not lack critical observations concerning both the proportions and the whole of the realization. Subsidies and the results of the battle with inflation, were discussed, but in every case the question remained: "What to chose?"

Deputy Premier Manfred Gorywoda cited examples of motions from the consultation taken into consideration, among them the possibilities for an increase in food supplies considerably greater than one percent announced in the assumptions. At the same time he stated, however, that a good year in agriculture ought to initiate the stockpiling of reserves in the event of a much poorer harvest and thus he advised caution in, for example, limiting the rationing.

In any case, in answer to the question, Manfred Gorywoda pointed out how limited is the field for maneuver. During this discussion very manly [sic] decisions were demanded concerning the curbing of investments. One has to realize, however, that in the period of overcoming the crisis, 35 percent of investment outlays are for areas of the greatest social priority. Should we look for savings in what requires a 90 percent participation of construction-assembly work? After all, this concerns housing, hospitals and schools. At the same time those spheres of industrial production which decide the market balance are often threatened with decapitalization for lack of funds. What, then, should be sacrificed? One hears about curbing central investments, yet most often these include such priorities as, for example, the tractor, where outlays amount to 180 billion zlotys, or "Police," or finally, the coke-chemical complex being built so that we can obtain natural gas from the USSR necessary for "Police." We can add here investments connected with mining and power engineering, and with the water economy.

One deputy even raised the charge that brown coal was not sufficiently used as an energy source. The answer given to this was that in taking into consideration the national interest, perhaps it would be more worthwhile to invest, for example, in electronics which would lower energy consumption, than in building a power complex.

The matters of the savings and anti-inflationary program also raised emotions. The pronouncement of the minister of the material economy was countered by a critical co-report from the representative of the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control], and deputies added many observations. In the end, however, all came to the conclusion that we can only talk about the beginning of some action in this regard and what counted was the reversal of the prevailing trends. The anti-inflationary program moves also evoked many polemical observations, but a fuller report would surpass the possibilities of this article. In the conclusion the deputies' observations were presented; while approving of the goals and directions of the plan, they put forward a number of motions that may promote the practical realization of the plan's assumptions.

12270

CSO: 2600/41

SIWICKI DISCUSSES ARMY'S ROLE, OBLIGATIONS

LD122114 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1856 GMT 12 Oct 84

[No video available]

[Text] On the occasion of Polish Army Day, a television news team visited Minister of National Defense General Florian Siwichi a few hours ago:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Allow me, comrade general, to take this opportunity to thank all our soldiers for the fact that we can live and work in peace and calm. Will you please also accept best wishes on the occasion of soldiers' day.

[Siwichi] Thank you, comrade editor, for this visit. I also thank you for your recognition of soldierly work, as well as for the wishes.

Forty-one years have passed since the memorable battle at Lenino. During that time our army has covered a gigantic road of development. Today this is an entirely different army. As regards combat capability which is incomparably higher, organizational structure, armament and equipment--this is a completely different army. But at the same time our army is still the same as regards its character. It is immutably a people's army.

From its outset until the present day it has served and serves the nation, the working man. It fought for the liberation of the nation and the country from the Nazi occupation. It participated actively in setting up the people's state, in the realization of social reforms. At present it stands guard over these political and social achievements, stands guard over the independence of our nation. We are serving the Polish nation. We defend the interests of the working people. We have testified to this during the past 40 years on many occasions.

When I referred to the different nature of our army, I had in mind above all its technical equipment. In this respect, as I have already mentioned, the differences are radical--in fact, revolutionary. One could attempt to present a comparison in a very symbolic way. Our soldier of the 1940's consisted mainly of infantrymen with rifles. The modern soldier of the 80's is an operator of complex technology, often a missile or electronic technology, protected by armor and supported by hundreds of horse-power [as heard].

These revolutionary technological changes in the army's equipment occurred above all as the result of the all-round progress of our country, as the result of a close, allied cooperation within the framework of the defensive alliance in the Warsaw Pact. However, the most important issue in this transformation of quality is the fact that the present operator of modern armaments is completely different, better educated, with much higher skills, with more all-round qualifications.

The people's army of the 40's has gone through a school which is unique in history. Today maybe, some people no longer remember, but in the post-war years many of our soldiers were taught by us to read and write.

At the present time our soldiers have attained more than the basic standard of education and has completed vocational education, and every fourth soldier in the basic military service has had higher education. These 40 years have also been for the professional personnel. We have all been learning and continue to perfect our knowledge today, too. As a result of this, at the present time more than 80 percent of officers take pride in their higher education and many of them have attained academic titles and degrees. One more reflection, perhaps; the entire military educational system has undergone fundamental and qualitative changes. Many military higher education establishments, institutes, and academic and research centers have been built. The results of their academic research--constructional and technological solutions--are widely applied in the national economy, too. This is quite natural in our conditions. There are many examples of this in the mining industry, in communications, in the health service--I mean medicine here--and they all serve our society well. Such is the scale--though presented in a very brief and incomplete form, of course--of the changes in our people's army.

The development of our army has not taken place in isolation, in a social vacuum. It reflects the progress made by socialist Poland, the transformations which have taken place in our country, under the leadership of the party, through the efforts of the entire nation.

[Reporter] As the armed force of the Polish state, the people's army is called upon, in accordance with the constitution, to protect the independence of the Polish nation. At the same time, because of Poland's membership of the defensive Warsaw Pact, it is part of the joint armed forces of this pact. How are these matters reconciled in practice?

[Siwicki] This is quite correct. As an army we are called upon to ensure independence for our nation, to defend the socialist Polish state. We are an integral part of our state and our nation. The Polish Army is subordinated to the supreme organs of power in our country. In the patriotic upbringing of soldiers we draw upon the best traditions of the Polish sword, upon revolutionary upsurges, and upsurges in the name of the freedom of our nation. We also try to preserve in an external form our military and national traditions in so far as this can be reconciled with the present-day needs of the army, and there are results of this. At the same time, we are bringing up soldiers in the spirit of respect for other nations, for their traditions, civilizational achievements. In a word, we combine patriotic upbringing and love of the homeland with internationalism. The friendship and cooperation between our allied armies is not a slogan but a concrete reality.

We have supplied and we continue to supply evidence of this by taking part in various kinds of joint undertakings such as, for instance, the latest allied "shield-84" exercise. Our membership of the political-defensive alliance--the Warsaw Pact--is advantageous to us in every possible way. Thanks to this membership, Poland's security today is safeguarded not only by the power of our own potential but also by the capabilities of all our allied states and their armies, particularly of the Soviet Union and its powerful armed forces.

And what is more, in the present conditions where the NATO states are increasing military efforts and where there are revanchist tendencies, we would be able to ensure full security for our nation without this membership.

The pooling of defensive efforts has thus become an objective necessity in the present-day military-political conditions in the world as a result of the increasing threat for which imperialism is to blame. We take this into consideration in our practical activities.

[Reporter] Comrade general, there is a saying that being a professional soldier is not so much a profession but rather a calling. How much truth is there in this?

[Siwicki] Let me perhaps start by saying that to be a professional soldier means above all that one has consciously decided on doing something that is exceptionally difficult and which entails many sacrifices and true devotion. At the same time our profession, particularly at present, requires thorough knowledge in many spheres: sociopolitical knowledge, technical knowledge knowledge in the sphere of organization, management and leadership as well as didactic-upbringing knowledge because we are also all teachers. I am not talking about the whole extensive sphere of military science and operational skills, because this is a self-evident matter. Thus, what this profession requires is constant education and self-improvement not only in the sphere of broadly-based theory but also in the sphere of practical skills in the manning of modern equipment and armaments. You see, the army is an unusual school. It prepares people for activity in extreme conditions and for coping with the greatest trials.

If these people in uniform did not have a calling and did not have internal conviction, would they carry out their duties honestly and with total commitment not simply over a limited period but all the time? And often they do this in small groups in places which, as is sometimes said, are far from civilization and which are a long way from their families.

And what about the high morale of our professional cadres and their ideological standards, sacrifice and bravery which they permanently testify to? Does this not show calling, passion for military service, and devotion to the nation and the socialist cause? At the same time one should remember that the families of professional soldiers also share all the hardship of a soldier's life. The professional soldier is not free of common human everyday worries, either. Often, precisely because of the special qualities of his work, he has even more worries than people in different professions. Thus, I think that any

attempts to quantify whether being a professional soldier is more of a calling than a job are unjustified. It is both a job and a calling. And what can be said for certain is that this is a job whose requirements would be difficult to satisfy without an authentic calling.

[Reporter] Another question, comrade general, concerns the matter of how the minister of national defense is spending the holdiay of the Polish Army.

[Siwicki] I hope, Mr Editor, that before speaking about myself you will let me say something along more general lines.

For the soldier this is without doubt a most solemnly festive day. Without doubt it is not short of space for reflection on the road one has traveled, on one's present and future duties. And yet for many soldiers it is a day of normal service, a day of watching over the security of Poland and its calm. My festive day has a similar shape. After acquainting myself with the operational reports, I issued the appropriate instructions to the forces on watch. Today, however, I have slightly more time than usual to follow up my personal affairs, for the family, and above all for my grandchildren. Also for meetings with friends, for recollection and reflection. Today seems so full to me that I do not know if I will be able to carry it through as I envisage. But these are matters which doubtless do not interest everyone. So permit me, comrade editor, to take this opportunity of the Day of the Polish Army to convey my most cordial wishes to and warmly greet my comrades in arms, the soldiers on active service and the reservists, my combatant friends, their families, and the civilian employees of our ministry. I wish them all success in their service, soldierly happiness, and all the best in their private lives.

[Reporter] Thank you very much for the interview. [End recording]

CSO: 2600/74

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF LATIN AMERICAN TOUR DISCUSSED

'AU161053 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Oct 84 p 6

['Statement' by Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski in Argentina to TRYBUNA LUDU's Zdzislaw Antos--date not given]

[Text] My visit stems from the implementation of our state's foreign policy, whose aim is activity for the sake of peace and international cooperation, and hence for the sake of stronger relations with countries that have different political-economic systems. It is also an expression of the importance that Poland attaches to this politically and economically important part of the world.

The first stage of my journey was socialist Cuba, where together with Foreign Minister Isidora Malmierca we reviewed Polish-Cuban relations, noting with satisfaction that these relations are enjoying a constant development in all spheres. The communique that we signed contains a wide range of problems on which our stances are identical. We confirmed our countries' firm desire to consolidate the unity of the community of socialist countries and to act for the sake of reducing international tension. We stated that at the source of the tension is the United States' dangerously warlike policy which threatens peace on a global and regional scale, including Central America and the Caribbean. We expressed deep concern over the development of the situation in this region, expressing our support for a just and peaceful solution to the conflicts.

An important event during my stay in Cuba was my meeting with Fidel Castro, this country's leader, during which we discussed the most important problems in our bilateral relations and assessed the main development trends of the international situation.

My visit to Cuba was also a chance for me to express my honest admiration for the historic transformations and achievements during the construction of a socialist society there under the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba. This country--once economically backward, with great social contrasts, and completely dependent on American monopolies--is today a modern and comprehensively developing state that guarantees all its inhabitants a decent standard of living. Cuba has gone through great economic development availing itself of its natural resources; creating a modern industry and agriculture; and

achieving technical and technological developments. Cuba's achievements in the areas of science, education, and medical care are generally known. Cuban teachers and doctors trained under people's authority are not only capable of meeting the needs of their own country, but also render fraternal internationalist aid to other countries. Poland deeply respects Cuba's energetic and principled foreign policy and its valuable initiatives aimed at eliminating hotbeds of conflict in various parts of the world and defending the freedom and sovereignty of nations. That is why we also fully support the recent initiative voiced by Fidel Castro and Daniel Ortega aimed at a just solution to the conflicts in Central America in accordance with the wishes of the nations in this region.

I also had the honor during my visit to present on behalf of the PPR State Council high decorations to a group of eminent Cuban party, social and state activists for their great contribution toward the development of friendly and fraternal relations between our countries and peoples.

The next state of my journey was Nicaragua. My visit there, the first at the foreign minister level, was a continuation of the Polish-Nicaraguan dialogue, an important feature of which was the meeting between both countries' leaders, General Wojciech Jaruzelski and Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Ruling Council.

During talks in Managua I expressed Poland's full support for the Nicaraguan people's struggle against American imperialism and against the reaction inside Nicaragua, a struggle aimed at consolidating the achievements of the Sandinist revolution and preserving the right to independence and social justice. Our country firmly condemns the U.S. Administration's adventurist activity against sovereign Nicaragua, especially the economic blockade, the lawless violation of Nicaraguan territorial waters, the mining of its ports, and air attacks on its territory, from which children are dying. Taking into account the fundamental changes that have taken place in Nicaragua during the 5 years of the Sandinist revolution, changes that arouse respect and recognition, we are convinced that Nicaragua will follow its own path despite the endeavors of imperialism and the domestic opponents of progress.

The revolutionary transformations in Nicaragua have created favorable conditions for the truly developing fraternal relations between our countries and peoples. We are joined not only by a similarity of historical experience and tragic fate, but, above all, by the ideals of freedom and social justice. We are joined by the struggle against imperialism in the defense of our supreme political, ideological, and national interests.

Together with Miguel D'Escoto, Nicaragua's foreign minister, we reviewed the international situation, stating that it has deteriorated because of the U.S. Policy of confrontation. We spoke out in favor of halting the arms race and in favor of detente and equal international cooperation without discrimination and economic restrictions.

The communique we signed expresses Poland's support for Nicaragua's initiatives and for the efforts of the Contadora states for the sake of a peaceful solution to the conflicts in Central America.

I am ending my present journey in Argentina. My meetings and talks, including those with President Raul Alfonsin and Foreign Minister Dante Caputo, permit me to say that Poland and Argentina are both concerned for the future of a world threatened with armaments and disturbed by the negative influence of the huge debts of some countries, including Poland and Argentina, on their own economic development capability and on international economic cooperation.

Just like Argentina, Poland wishes to consolidate within international relations the principles of equality, justice, and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states; in a word--it wishes to strengthen international law.

Much time during my meetings and talks was taken up by the issue of relations between our countries. President Alfonsin and my Argentinian colleague, Minister Dante Caputo, expressed a desire to enhance political, economic, and cultural-scientific cooperation, and expressed their intention to maintain contacts at the highest level. Minister Dante Caputo accepted an invitation to come to Poland.

Our talks were marked by a bilateral desire to broaden our cooperation, an expression of which was the signing by both foreign ministers of a cultural and scientific cooperation agreement.

We also concurred with each other as to the existence of huge possibilities for developing trade, and especially for overcoming the trade recession that has occurred because of foreign currency difficulties. We are convinced that the key to overcoming the difficulties is a compensation agreement, which will permit mutual currency-free purchases from a list of commodities which we have jointly established. We are also interested in developing industrial cooperation.

During talks with Minister Dante Caputo, we exchanged views on the current international situation. I must say that our stances on many problems were identical or close.

My second journey to Latin America--the first one was 2 years ago when I visited Venezuela and Colombia--permits me to say that the nations on this continent possess a keen desire to contribute toward peace on a world and regional scale, and toward international cooperation. They possess a desire to consolidate their own political and economic independence. This desire is evidenced by their membership in the Nonaligned Movement and in the Group of 77, in the knowledge that their economic interests are not covered by the interests of the countries of the highly industrialized capitalist world. Their desire is evidenced by an aim toward Latin American political and economic integration.

Poland, as I have once more been able to ascertain, enjoys sympathy in Latin America.

CSO: 2600/73

REBUILT SERBIAN CHURCH AT JASENOVAC DEDICATED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1758, 9 Sep 84
pp 14-15

[Article by Velizar Zecevic: "Forgiveness and Hope"]

[Text] Some 20,000 people (a rough estimate), some 50 Serbian emigres come from America, some 30 newsmen and news photographers, several priests of various faiths, bishops, and finally the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Patriarch German, certainly would not gather together in the same place for 2 days if Jasenovac had not been the occasion. The occasion was the consecration of the Orthodox Church, a temple built on the site where the old church was destroyed on 15 August 1941.

A day earlier, at about noon on 1 September, a group of priests, newsmen, government officials from institutions for relations with religious communities and other invited guests and responsible officials took up all the available places in the rather small new Sava Hotel in Jasenovac.

The mouth of the Una where it enters the Sava can be seen from the hotel terrace. On the other shore, across the way, a bare and dry large tree trunk with several short and irregularly locked branches have been placed on the high metal spikes. Radovan Trifuncic, director of the Museum of the Victims of Jasenovac, told us that the old tree had been felled by the wind on a stormy night some 10 years ago. At the time when Jasenovac was a camp, from 1941 to 1945, several thousand camp inmates were hanged from that tree. The iron hooks to which the ropes were tied can be seen on the dry branches which are now without bark or leaves.

A Concrete Rose

One hundred meters upstream from the hotel, no more than that, the Sava is today crossed by a modern structure which recalls Zezelj's bridge over the Danube at Novi Sad. More and more automobiles and a few buses are already crossing from the Bosnian side. This concrete bridge has also replaced the former prewar wooden bridge, which was said to rock whenever any sizable group of people were on it. We could not check that out, the bridge is no longer there. At the time of the Jasenovac camp the Ustashi slaughtered camp inmates on that bridge and threw them into the Sava. Some of them practiced shattering

the skull of a living human being with a single blow of a maul. They did this on a daily basis on the old bridge.

Incidentally, there are no traces of the Ustasha camp at Jasenovac. Back in 1945 someone ordered that the barbed wire and watchtowers with machine guns be removed, that the ruins of the former camp buildings be cleared and that everything be demolished that remained after the uprising of the 1,500 inmates, some 20 days before the Liberation. The rebels ended up on the wire of the camp or with a bullet in their head in Jasenovacko Polje. There was no one to bury them. Those 57 inmates who saved themselves on that occasion went away, and the Ustashi made panicky preparations for flight and demolished the camp structures and destroyed the traces.

Several pictures in the museum at Jasenovac show what was to be seen in Jasenovacko Polje on the day of the Liberation.

Today that plain has been altogether leveled, and grass has grown. Two small ponds have been preserved; they are connected as though by a hyphen of water, grown up in some places in reeds. The ponds were created a long time ago, when clay was dug here for the brickworks, which was demolished along with the other structures in 1945. During the time of the camp the brickworks served as a crematorium which was ready for use, as indeed it was for almost 4 years.

Bogdan Bogdanovic, architect and professor who had already made a name for himself with monuments in open spaces, was invited in the sixties. He conceived and built an open rose of concrete, probably as a symbol of a flower that grew up in the meadow where about 700,000 people suffered, not 1 in 100 of them having done anything against the Ustasha government. It was enough to have been born the member of a nationality or of a religion.

In the afternoon of Saturday, 1 September, about 200 people gathered under the arch of that concrete rose. Patriarch German, attended by priests, prayed and celebrated a requiem for the "victims of Jasenovac who died at the hands of criminals," as he put it, on the spot where in accordance with Orthodox ritual on such occasions the requiem was held for the dead.

At the reception given in the evening by Ivan Lalic, chairman of the Commission for Relations With Religious Communities of SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia, Patriarch German spoke about the "senselessness of war," which changes human nature and creates conditions for people who might peacefully do their jobs and bring up their children to become beasts, indeed "savage beasts," he added.

The next day, on Sunday, following consecration of the church, which is the same size and shape as the one demolished in 1941, the patriarch addressed the gathering around the church, on the asphalt road and on the lawns, in the steaming shade of tents from which there spread the smell of meat being grilled and beer being poured.

Carrying Candles

"I know that their souls are aroused today," Patriarch German said. "In them the joy of what is happening here today is intertwined with the burdensome memory of everything that happened at Jasenovac and nearby, by the recollection of the blood, sufferings and martyr's death of many of our dear ones and precious ones, who 4 days ago were led here like lambs to the slaughter.... Our souls are penetrated by the gloom of those days when the father of sin, evil and eternal darkness spread his lethal wings and scattered blood and tears, atrocities and death, and he built as his temples Mathausen, Dachau, Auschwitz, Jasenovac, Jadovno, Glina.... People who had been christened were the executors of his will, carried away, led astray, convinced that they were achieving their own good through someone else's trouble."

At the side of the road near the church stood a man and woman in their forties with several lighted candles in each hand. "Please do not smoke now," a man said to his neighbor. He later said that the number of candles in his hands stood for the number of members of his family who had been victims in the Jasenovac camp. The same was true of the candles held by his wife, except here it was her family.

The loudspeaker continued to carry the patriarch's speech.

"Brothers, let us forgive--we must, though we cannot forget," Patriarch German said. "Let the great grandchildren of our great grandchildren know that this immense concrete flower on the plain of Jasenovac bears witness to a senselessness which must never happen again...."

Even at that moment many under the arch of that concrete flower were reading the large iron letters in the Latin script impressed into the concrete, lines from "Jama" [The Pit] by Goran Kovacic. The mounds scattered according to Bogdanovic's conception had grown up with grass like the environs. In the museum one learns that on the other side of the Sava 366,000 skulls were dug up at one spot, according to the findings of a commission. There were several such common graves, some have not even been dug up. Recently a common grave was found on the bed of the Sava, along the shore, when the water level was exceptionally low. Both the Una and the Sava were graves; murdered children were thrown in the small artificial ponds near the brickworks.

The museum director, Radovan Trifuncic, told the newsmen how he had been thrown into the camp with his mother and all the inhabitants of Jasenovac when he was a child, but that he and his mother had later been saved by a neighbor, who was a Croat.

"Children, our Orthodox children," the speech of Patriarch German continued, "you live here together with our brother Croats of the Roman Catholic faith. Our tumultuous and long-suffering past, of both the one and the other, has blended us together here and directed that we shall live together. Let Jasenovac be a great and chilling reminder that clearly states that love and concord should be the law of our life together in the future.... 'There is nothing hidden which shall not be uncovered, nothing secret that shall not be known,' it has been said by he who knows and sees everything...."

A Moment of History

The Jasenovac church is small, somewhat smaller than the Roman Catholic Church, which is barely 100 meters or so away. Of the some 1,000 inhabitants of Jasenovac, we were told by the parish priest a day earlier, slightly more than half are Orthodox. That is also the approximate ratio in nearby villages on both sides of the Sava, in some places more of one, in others more of the other.

People came to Jasenovac that day (2 September) from various directions. The organization was not absolutely perfect, some said that there were 200, some 300, and there are those who think that there were no more than 100 buses. Automobiles with various license plates crammed the streets and roads entering Jasenovac, but a change came about soon after the consecration of the church. Beer was served, grilled lamb was eaten, and watermelons were split open.

Nor did the organization prove to be everything it might have been at the luncheon in the sunny garden of the Sava Hotel. There were about 300 guests. Patriarch German, the bishops, representatives of institutions for relations with religious communities, newsmen, and the group of emigres from America....

Since the day before the newsmen had been constantly asking questions of each other and of all they met about the events that had taken place, they recognized the guests, they asked questions about the number of people who came. Was there some suspicion or fear that something undesirable or unsuitable would happen? And if there was fear, it was increasingly obvious that there was no need for it. Everything was dignified and peaceful. Not a single superfluous word; perhaps a word or two was missing or was not sufficiently clear or relieving. When Patriarch German and Ivan Lalic exchanged toasts at the reception the patriarch spoke about crime and evil, bad blood and misfortune. Lalic attributed that evil in the last war more definitely to the "traitors of our peoples."

Metropolitan Jovan spoke at the luncheon.

"This assembly of ours," Bishop Paul said, "signifies not only the erection and rebuilding of a demolished temple, it is a demonstration, a renewal of new love, new solidarity, and new mutual responsibility of one to the other, regardless of our ethnic, religious or political allegiances.... Never has something like this occurred previously in the world, especially on this soil of ours. And the reason why it happened cannot be explained by the laws of any social science, politics, logic or ethics of whatever kind.... No myth about the senselessness, monstrousness and abnormality of the criminals from anyone's history can be compared with Jasenovac.... This was a time when not only temples were demolished, but also relations between churches and between nationalities, a time of destruction of human consciences, souls and lives...."

At the end of the speech Bishop Paul also returned to memory--and forgiveness.

"The consecration of the church is a warning to all that mindful of where they live they illuminate new hopes for a more happy future, for a spirit of community of nationalities, churches and faiths which live together on this soil...."

In the late afternoon Jasenovac was left behind us under a sun that was still hot on the second day of September. The people were serious, with little to say.... If they did not find words that made them easier in all respects, they did attend an important moment in history.

7045

CS0: 2800/30

SHORTCOMINGS IN AID TO UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS VIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1759, 19 Aug 84
pp 8-9

[Article by Toma Milic: "Solidarity Is Increasingly Expensive"]

[Text] Never has more money been envisaged in one 5-year period for the economic development of the underdeveloped republics and provinces as in this one: 228 billion dinars (not including aid furnished for the development of the social services from the federal budget). But at the same time never in such a short period has there been more hesitation and dilemmas about how to place the resources pooled most wisely. When we add to this the difficult economic conditions in the country and the unendingly sterile discussions of the criteria for ascertaining the level of development of the republics and provinces for the next 5-year period, we get a picture of the underdeveloped in which rather gloomy tones predominate.

Is it possible for pooling to change this picture? The principle that in this 5-year period half of total resources built up in the Federal Fund for Development of the Underdeveloped (114 billion dinars) be left to the unrestricted pooling of organizations of associated labor from the advanced and underdeveloped regions so as to displace the influence of the state in this area and initiate a process of concluding self-management agreements in the economy does have its point. By contrast with the previous period, this has opened up real possibilities not only for solidarity between the richer north and the poorer south of the country, but also for pursuit of mutual economic interests through joint ventures.

It has turned out, that is, that stimulation of the faster development of the underdeveloped solely on the basis of solidarity, without economic interests, which in the system we had, as in many other countries facing uneven regional development, a solidarity which is by and large administratively coerced--is untenable over the long run. At some point, depending on fluctuations in economic flows, and we now have them in abundance, solidarity becomes increasingly "expensive."

The pooling of labor and capital between the advanced and the underdeveloped in general, and in particular the pooling of "cash" offered every year by the Fund for the Underdeveloped ..., in spite of the shortcomings, has proven to

be an indispensable form of linkage and integration of the Yugoslav economy, especially from the standpoint of altering its bad economic structure, and then also from the standpoint of strengthening its reproductive capacity and ability to export. Pooling of capital other than the resources of the fund is unfortunately yielding scanty results: of the approximately 40 percent of the social product which until recently we set aside for capital investment projects only about 6 percent crossed the boundaries of republics and provinces. Even today organizations of associated labor which enter into joint ventures with the underdeveloped through the fund are investing very little of their own accumulation and are taking advantage of the "quota" envisaged for pooling.

A great number of federal, republic, provincial and opstina regulations have been adopted to speed up the pooling, which means that they have made it possible for a portion of capital to be transferred from the advanced to the underdeveloped regions of the country. Nevertheless, during the last 5-year period the expected results were not forthcoming--only 12 self-management accords were signed in a total amount less than 500 million dinars, although almost 17 billion dinars had been envisaged for pooling in the fund. Over the 3.5 years of this 5-year period which have passed there has been a turn for the better: more than 3,600 organizations of associated labor from the entire country have concluded about 400 self-management accords on joint investment undertakings in the underdeveloped republics and Kosovo (total value 183 billion dinars), and another 700 or so initiatives for pooling have been taken. This process, then, is already yielding results; nearly 100 factories in the underdeveloped regions, employing 26,000 workers, have been built or modernized. Another 80 are under construction, 150 project plans are being prepared, and it is expected that by the end of this year the green light will be given to another 100 or so accords. In the Fund for the Underdeveloped ... and the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia they say that toward the end of this 5-year plan construction and modernization of about 300 economic projects in the underdeveloped regions will be completed and will provide 60,000 jobs.

Results of Pooling Over the 3-Year Period

<u>Republics and Provinces</u>	<u>Resources En- visaged for Pooling 1981-1983</u>	<u>Done (paid) as of 31 Dec 83</u>	<u>Fulfill- ment, %</u>
Bosnia-Hercegovina	8,391.7	3,813.3	45.4
Montenegro	1,389.3	124.0	8.9
Croatia	17,537.4	8,653.8	49.3
Macedonia	3,600.1	3,308.9	91.9
Slovenia	10,559.3	7,664.1	72.6
Serbia proper	16,439.9	4,064.4	24.7
Kosovo	1,406.3	104.0	7.4
Vojvodina	<u>6,873.8</u>	<u>2,181.3</u>	<u>31.7</u>
Total	66,197.8	29,913.8	45.2

Little Factories Based on Credit

From the standpoint of the present compacted troubles in our society, especially in the economy, this is not bad. Many poor opstinas have gotten their first little factory and 100 or so industrial workers. But that kind of investment does not go far, since without the experts and an arrangement based on income sharing with the parent organizations which built them, these little factories will not be able to survive long (half of the 400 accords concluded are based on credit). We anticipated, then, a greater concentration of capital pooled on an income-sharing basis, and that in those economic branches (energy, agriculture and raw materials) which we have designated as strategic in all the long-range and medium-term plans. Yet we have built and are building predominantly manufacturing facilities, some involving the risk of soon being closed down. Only 20 percent of the programs on joint ventures have to do with agriculture, and still fewer with the production of raw materials and production supplies. At the same time, because of the imported technology, we have made certain projects dependent upon imports from the very outset.

Would it not have been more astute in Bosnia, say, for us to concentrate capital for the development of metallurgy and hydroelectric power, in Montenegro for tourism, in Macedonia for raising two crops a year, and in Kosovo for producing lignite and development of grapegrowing, as has been done by the well-off Swedes, Germans, French, Italians and Japanese, or by the poorer Greeks and Turks, who on the basis of government measures have concentrated capital on development of their underdeveloped regions and have offered subsidies to private capital.

The Italians, for example, for a long time had the "Fund for Development of the South," which was the source of most of the capital for the irrigation work on an area of about 500,000 hectares which was the source of the river of poor workers seeking jobs. The French also concentrate the resources with which they stimulate the removal of economic facilities from Paris and other industrial centers, and they offer tax, customs and other incentives to private capital. Much the same is being done by the Swedes, Japanese and others. Incidentally, we also have such an example in our own country in Serbia in the agricultural projects "Morava II," "Kolubara" and "Danube Valley," which cover the three poorest regions, consisting of 34 opstinas in which jobs need to be created for about 10,000 workers. There is a lack, however, of very broad scientific and practical solutions.

So, in spite of the repeated warnings that the pooling of capital will not take place without incentives, up to the beginning of this year, except for Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and Vojvodina, which had adopted measures with some incentive effect, all the other republics and Kosovo have not yet done this. Something else that is lacking is a uniform federal instruction on reporting, recordkeeping and monitoring of joint undertakings, which accounts for uncertainties, poor programs and duplicated facilities.

Nine Laws

They say in the Federal Executive Council that pooling is being slowed down by the fact that the "resources are highly fragmented, incentive legislation is lacking, the procedure is complicated for obtaining consent for joint ventures, scientific and specialized organizations are not sufficiently involved in preparing and selecting projects." Aside from decisions exempting organizations of associated labor from various customs charges, certain exemptions have also been adopted already for the importation of equipment this year and next year for projects built with pooled capital, and new banking and other incentives are also being prepared.

In any case, this is a step forward from the previous practice of financing the development of the underdeveloped with credit pure and simple. Let us hope that the upcoming amendments of the nine federal, republic and provincial pieces of legislation on pooling, along with reforming the Fund for the Underdeveloped ..., will put greater emphasis on the economic interests binding the advanced and the underdeveloped together and less emphasis on solidarity and political pressures under which the various projects are built. After all, even solidarity has its price, and it obviously is becoming more and more expensive. Incidentally, there is a warning of this in the excessive caution with which the advanced enter into joint ventures with the underdeveloped: the value of joint ventures exceeds (on paper) 183 billion dinars, but not even half of that money has been remitted to the investors.

That fear of authentic income-sharing arrangements between the two organizations (one from the advanced region) is probably a consequence of the ever more difficult conditions for the conduct of economic activity, but also of the fear about how to "withdraw" what has been invested if the future project goes bankrupt or a disintegration occurs (there have been such cases). That is why they usually resort to credit and purchase-sales arrangements, accompanied by pressure on the part of the advanced to build projects for the production of raw materials and production supplies, since they already have manufacturing facilities. That is why it is no wonder that over the last 3.5 years only some 30 agreements have been concluded on the production of raw materials, although about 85 percent of all domestic raw materials are recorded in the underdeveloped [original reads "advanced"] regions.

There are, of course, shortcomings as well in the fact that the underdeveloped, which are not prepared in terms of personnel, cannot always offer attractive programs and therefore take anything in accordance with the motto "Take what you can get." That is why cases of conflict and disintegration are quite common afterward, the resources planned for pooling in many republics wait as much as 15 months for action to be taken, and then afterward they are paid into the Fund for the Underdeveloped, and then, in accordance with the old credit pattern, they are loaned to the underdeveloped at interest.

By force of a combination of these and other circumstances a large portion of the money potential that is at the disposition of the underdeveloped republics and provinces is squandered on frequently dubious pooling between stronger and weaker organizations of associated labor within the underdeveloped regions

themselves (there are about 100 accords). Many of these accords, of course, if they had not been brought about by force applied from outside, would perhaps be just as significant as agreements with the advanced, but this way they are rather brittle. Those organizations of associated labor do not have the experience in production, marketing, exporting and other fields, and they also are short on experts.

A White Hot Atmosphere

Where is most of the building being done? Judging by the agreements concluded on joint ventures, most of the projects will be going to Macedonia--116, and then Bosnia-Herzegovina--152, Kosovo--60 and Montenegro--28. However, these projects (a new shortcoming of pooling) are not well-distributed within the underdeveloped republics and Kosovo--that is the feeling of delegates in the SFRY Assembly and then in the assembly of the Fund for the Underdeveloped ..., since about 63 percent of the money is intended for development of advanced opstinas, 31 percent for underdeveloped and only about 5 percent for the markedly underdeveloped opstinas! It seems we are dealing with that same attitude which the advanced have toward the underdeveloped republics and Kosovo--avoiding risks in making investments. In any case Pristina and Dragas, say, in Kosovo, and then Banja Luka and Han Pjesak in Bosnia, Niksic and Plav in Montenegro, Bitolj and Gostivar in Macedonia, and so on, ought not to have the same treatment when the money is being divided up.

Discussions about the underdeveloped and in general about our country's uneven economic development, which were interrupted at the beginning of this summer in a rather white hot atmosphere, not only because of lack of agreement over the criteria for measuring the level of development of the republics and provinces and SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia's demand that it be freed of certain obligations to the underdeveloped because of its economic lag, but also because many contradictions in the underdeveloped regions (Kosovo) have deepened--will again flare up by all appearances at the very beginning of September. After all, the funds which the Yugoslav economy is setting aside from its income for the underdeveloped at a rate of 1.86 percent are not scanty; they constitute almost 18 percent of the Yugoslav economy's accumulation.

That is why no one is any longer indifferent about how that money is committed and spent (some is spent for purposes other than those designated). Everyone is in favor of solidarity, but it seemingly is becoming more and more expensive in this period of very great economic difficulties. That is why in the upcoming discussions of the underdeveloped voluntarism and emotions must be displaced to the maximum, and more respect paid to scientific knowledge.

7045

CSO: 2800/12

IMPLICATIONS OF INDICTMENT OF POLITICAL ARRESTEES AIRED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1760, 23 Sep 84
pp 20-21

[Article by Milan Milosevic: "Laws and Mystification"]

[Text] In the Belgrade District Court there is an outstanding indictment against Vladimir Mijanovic, Miodrag Milic, Dragomir Olujic, Milan Nikolic, Gordan Jovanovic and Pavlisko Imsirovic. It resulted from an inquiry opened after the arrest of the so-called "Group of 28" at the end of last April during a "home discussion club" at which the opening talk was delivered by Milovan Djilas.

It might seem a bit in bad taste if we say of the people who are the subject of a serious indictment that in Belgrade they were relatively well-known figures around town and had an image that evoked a certain ironic attitude as one can see from the nicknames of two of them: "Vlada Revolution" and "Doctor Mica." It is said of a third that he is "convinced that at precisely this moment we are watching capitalism sink irrecoverably under the weight of its own recession." A flimsy image for an enemy of the state.

Judging by the indictment, that discussion club was not unknown to the Security Service: the court was informed that these and other persons had been cautioned. Belgrade newsmen know (and have indeed recorded it) that this kind of discussion club has existed for years. Petitions signed by more or less the same group of people (and the indictment states that the petitions were signed during these home discussion clubs) had been a topic for occasional political criticism (criticism is one thing, and guilt something else) because of abuse of that civil right and because of individual political assertions in those petitions. Taken altogether, the matter, to be honest, does not seem so conspiratorially as one might at first suppose.

Judging by the indictment, the witnesses referred to the meetings which they attended as basement discussion clubs, an informal school, gatherings, parties, get-togethers, public discussion clubs.... The indictment alleges that there were at least 24 such meetings and gives the number of meetings attended by the accused. Incidentally, the indictment consistently refers to those meetings as illegal and emphasizes that they were well-organized, announced in advance, that they had an introductory speaker and someone to structure the discussion by recognizing speakers and limiting their time.

The list of topics is not given in the indictment, although it does probably exist in the court record, and, the story goes, it covers many fields--from electronics, computers, to "the crisis and sociology," the "nationality question" and topics such as "the most recent criticism of the press." The indictment emphasizes that these discussions had been politicized.

Several texts [original reads "tests"] and announcements are quoted exhaustively, among them Milic's text entitled "Leftwing Errors in the National Liberation Struggle in the Winter of 1942-1943...", in which it is asserted that the CPY and its leadership was to blame for the defeat of the uprising in Serbia. Then follow texts such as "The Destiny of Milovan Djilas," in which the government leadership of Yugoslavia is referred to as the "'Ruling Oligarchy' Under Tito's Leadership," statements like the one of Olujic to the effect that "a stronger trade union movement needs to be created of peasants, workers and intellectuals," "in our present situation we face the possibility of a series of strikes," and so on and so forth.

Although quotations take up a large part of the indictment, its key passage is in Point 2. That is, the public charge accuses all six "of being cooffenders in committing the crime of association for the purpose of hostile activity pursuant to Article 136, Paragraph 1, and related to Article 144 of the SFRY Criminal Code." This is a very serious charge, which, if proven, could result in very heavy sentences.

The opening of the public portion of the trial has not yet been scheduled, but even before that an important and serious legal battle is being waged over the key section of the indictment.

The indictment, which was drawn up by Danilo Nanovic, deputy district public prosecutor, states that the accused "over a period from 1977 to April 1984, establishing ties with one another and proceeding from counterrevolutionary positions ... worked to create, organize, enlarge and consolidate a group of persons for the purpose of activity to subvert and unconstitutionally alter the sociopolitical system and overthrow the existing government and to that end organized and held several meetings in their own and other dwellings in which other persons also participated at their invitation, read texts before a sizable number of persons which they passed out to one another or made verbal statements attacking the achievements of our national liberation struggle and socialist construction and the person and deeds of SFRY President Josip Broz Tito."

All the lawyers for the defendants have filed objections to the indictment reiterating the same point directed against that key passage in the indictment. One of the objections states that "the indictment does not cite evidence whereby the court could establish the decisive facts as to the existence of the essential elements of the crime in question." In their objections, which will be ruled on by a panel of judges of the district court, the defense attorneys specifically state that the public prosecutor has not furnished evidence that there actually were actions whereby such a crime was committed. There was no deed, as they say in legal jargon. Attorney Vitomir Knezevic writes in his objection that the arguments supporting the indictment did not

say who created the group for the sake of hostile activity, when it was created or in what manner this was done.

Incidentally, the indictment states that Mijanovic began his activity in 1977, Imsirovic and Nikolic in 1978, Olujic in 1980 and Jovanovic in 1981.

It is not altogether clear what is being attributed to the various defendants, so that it seems to be directly stated only in the case of Mijanovic that on an unspecified day in 1977 he organized a meeting of several persons, gave the reasons for meeting, and that an agreement was reached in that meeting to create the firm nucleus of the group. Knezevic insists that the indictment did not state whether the other defendants were also present at that meeting. The objection filed by Mijanovic's attorney Srdja Popovic (who was summoned to the trial as a witness, which is yet another of the points in dispute) states that the defendant Mihanovic (who during the inquiry defended himself with silence and a hunger strike) denies that he took part in the discussions and that he visited friends out of counterrevolutionary motives and intentions. Popovic reproaches the prosecutor for referring to these meetings as "illegal" and says that it could follow from what the accused is being charged with that everyone could be indicted for visits and discussions, since there is no one who does not engage in this kind of "counterrevolutionary" activity.

The court will certainly know how to properly evaluate the arguments of the charge and the defense. The lawyers we have consulted, whom we believe to have no personal interest in this dispute, feel that in the end this indictment will not withstand the defense's criticism. That expert evaluation may not in fact be correct.

From the very outset this case has been accompanied by an overheated atmosphere: the "digging up" of Djilas, the interpretation of a suicide, the hunger strike of the defendants, the recollection of 1968, which was 16 years ago, so that the participants are now 40, the awakening of a certain nostalgia, the renewed mention of the Left, dissenters and an opposition, political statements ... reminders of the unhappy destinies of the defendants ... the "mediation" of the Association of Sociologists for the defendants to be released on bail, letters to the Serbian Assembly, to the SFRY State Presidency, interventions by certain international organizations, speculations about whether this arrest signals a turn to the Right.

It proved to be expedient to allow the defendants to be released on bail during their trial. This is said to be a rare occurrence in such trials. This certainly cooled off the atmosphere a bit. If there is some aspect in which this trial has political importance, then it is because it has to take place in a context of dispassionate establishment of the facts and their objective assessment. At this point that can be done only by the court. The verdict cannot be rendered by central committees, nor by the State Presidency, nor by an intelligentsia in a critical mood, nor by amnesty groups, but only by the court. It will have to demonstrate its independence and above all its attention to keep the focus on establishment of the facts.

If the crime referred to in the indictment that there was hostile propaganda in these meetings is proven--the implication is clear; if it is proven that the boundary of the crime was not crossed--once again the implication is clear.

The mysteries have to be cleared away--the only political interest lies in respecting and applying the law. The set of circumstances is such that this trial has somehow become an event which can influence how the judicial system is seen. And trust in the system of justice is a foundation of the system's stability. That is why an effort has to be made to definitely cool off the overheated atmosphere. Everyone should do his job under the law in keeping with his professional and general ethics--that is all.

7045

CSO: 2800/31

DATA GIVEN ON PARTY DUES, FINANCES

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 84 p 16

[Article by Slobodan Kujundzic: "Political Dimension Neglected"]

[Text] Financing the activity of the LCY does not greatly preoccupy the party rank and file. Probably the LC member with the average stock of information knows more about many other things than about membership dues and what they go for, about income and expenditures, and about the distribution of dues within the LCY. As far as we know, there is almost no very broad or thorough discussion of this except in certain communities (above all in Slovenia). Why is that the case, why is little known about this extremely important segment of party life, about the financial basis which facilitates the functioning of party activities? There are some who believe that these matters are not taken seriously by the party rank and file and that experience has shown that when matters concerning finance and operations are on the agenda, they are dealt with quickly and that mostly they have the earmarks of a formality (the reference here is above all to the opstina level of discussion). In other words, technical importance is attributed to the financing of activity, especially after adoption of the practice of withholding dues when personal incomes are paid. The treasurer does, of course, exist as a position, but it is felt that this updating of procedure has largely made him superfluous.

Dues and Purposes

According to the records on payment of dues, as of 31 December 1982 there were 2,149,809 members and as of 31 December 1983 2,074,557 members of the LC. This means that the number of LC members dropped 75,252, or 3.5 percent. The figures suggest the conclusion that members of the LC are meeting their obligations under the bylaws and paying their dues regularly. The total income of the LC last year was 7,286,730,000 dinars, which is a 20.7 percent increase over income from the same sources in 1982. The largest growth of total income occurred in the Serbian LC (32.7 percent) and the smallest in the Croatian LC (6.7 percent).

The rise of personal incomes and other income of the membership and more regular payment of dues tended to increase the total income from dues. The largest growth of income from dues (35.8 percent) occurred in the Macedonian LC, and the smallest (5.7 percent) in the Croatian LC.

The activity of OOSK's [primary LC organization] is financed with money set aside to meet their needs by opstina committees. A report by a staff service of the LCY Central Committee states only the total figure of participation in distribution of the dues of OOSK's and the organizations of opstinas, but, as is well known, quite scanty resources are set aside to meet the needs of OOSK's. There is the figure that opstina committees of the Croatian LC last year set aside 10 percent of their resources to finance the activities of OOSK's and that slightly more than half of this was spent. Dues collected in the LC of the republics and provinces in 1983, amounting to 6,010,626,523 dinars, were distributed as follows: 2.7 percent to finance the activity of the LCY Central Committee, 28.5 percent for the work of the central committees of the LC of the republics and provinces, and 68.8 percent to finance the activities of OOSK's and opstina bodies of the LC.

Expenditures

These figures illustrate the size and basic pattern of expenditure of resources to finance the activity of the LCY. Most of the money (52.6 percent) went for so-called material and functional-operational expenditures (these include operating costs of forums and the bodies of basic and local organizations of the LC, information and propaganda activity, international activities, consumption of energy, materials and services, as well as expenditures for political-ideological and Marxist education, publishing activities and scientific research). Personal incomes and other personal benefits of officials and employees of the LCY accounted for 45.2 percent of expenditures and investments, primarily in housing, 2.2 percent. Total expenditures amounted to 6,016,073,000 dinars. The largest growth in the breakdown of total expenditures (30.5 percent) was for personal incomes and other personal benefits.

Personal incomes and other personal benefits of officials and employees are adjusted to the growth rate of the personal incomes of workers employed in economic activities, and they rise in conformity with the socially verified criteria which are in effect within the particular sociopolitical community, according to the bases and scales of LC bodies and the general self-management acts of work communities.

The number of employed officials and other employees in the League of Communists was 6,152 at the end of 1982 and 6,304 at the end of 1983. Of these 1,505 were officials, and 4,799 employees of the LCY. In recent years there has been an increase in the size of the permanently employed labor force in the League of Communists. Between the 11th and 12th LCY Congresses the labor force (permanent employees) increased at an average annual rate of 4.2 percent. In 1982 and 1983 the increase slowed down (2.7 percent and 2.5 percent), but it was not halted. There was a drop in the size of the labor force only in the Slovenian LC (2.5 percent) and the LCY Central Committee (4.1 percent).

As far as material costs are concerned, their 21.8-percent increase is less than the rise of prices of materials and services in 1983. A report of the Department for Financial and Material Affairs of the LCY Central Committee concludes from this that the LC has been concerned about spending dues for material expenditures (there are quite a few of them, for example, operating

expenses of forums, information and propaganda activity, international activity and collaboration of the LCY, consumption of energy, materials and services, maintenance of office buildings, and so on). Within these costs there were also considerable expenditures of resources for political-ideological and Marxist education of members (663,539,000 dinars), for publishing activity and journalism, and for scientific research.

Scrutiny for the Sake of Reputation

Financing the activity of the LCY in 1983 was discussed some 10 days ago in a meeting of the Commission for Material and Financial Affairs of the LCY Central Committee (it was also attended by the secretary of the LCY Oversight Commission, which in mid-July adopted a resolution concerning the figures presented on financing the LCY in 1983).

The participants in the relatively brief discussion of course touched on those issues which arise in and of themselves and have political features. First of all, there was discussion of the scanty insight of the rank and file into the financing of the LCY and the mostly passive attitude on the part of the members in making decisions on money resources, which contributes greatly to cases of unwise use of party resources and activity that is not in line with the proclaimed goals of the LCY in society. This pertains in particular to the fact that the expansion of administration is not being halted (except in Slovenia), nor has there been any serious reaction in the LC to this social evil. To be sure, the situation is not any better in other social structures either, the administration has grown greatly there as well, but the League of Communists bears the greatest responsibility for the radical changes which inevitably lie ahead of us. This has indeed been stated unambiguously in the proposal of resolutions of the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, from which it follows that in the effort to carry out the resolutions the LC must start with reassessment in its own ranks. In this connection it does not suit at all for the observation to be made (as indeed it was at that meeting) that the LC is [original reads "is not"] characterized by the large number of employed officials and other employees in auxiliary services. A precise analysis that would cover every opstina separately would provide the best answer to that question. Even without such an analysis we know that in certain opstinas the number of persons employed in the LC is too great. Between the 11th and 12th congresses there were 60-90 secretaries of opstina committees in waiting status after their term of office expired. It is not in vain that the LCY Oversight Commission proposed a more comprehensive examination of the justifiability of the constant increase in the size of the labor force within the LCY. This increase is not in line with the policy commitment to deprofessionalization in the LCY nor to more optimum organization of staff services, and at the same time it requires large resources to finance personal incomes and other personal expenditures and social service expenditures. A conclusion can also be drawn on this question from the figure already given on personal incomes and other personal benefits of officials and employees in the LCY, which amounted to 45 percent of total expenditures of the LCY in 1983. It was these expenditures which recorded the largest increase (30.5 percent) over the previous year.

Wherever money is handled it is always possible for it to be managed more or less optimally or unwisely. Not even the League of Communists is immune to that, but appropriate monitoring based on full scrutiny and codecisionmaking by the party community would be an important barrier to all of that. No one disputes, as is stated in the resolution of the Oversight Commission, that "the resources were used for purposes defined by the bylaws, decisions of the bodies of the LC, social compacts, self-management accords, and laws," but at the same time the body also makes this observation: "In 1983 there were cases when the dues of the LC were used to finance programs and tasks of broader social importance and interest which may not be financed with those resources." We have heard that this refers, for example, to financing monographs, anthologies, museums, celebrations, certain film projects, aid to local newspapers and the like. Even the Central Committee receives requests to approve funds for similar purposes, although this does not square at all with the decisions in effect. So what now? The cover is that phrase of ours "broader social interest" even though the regulations, the agreements and decisions might be violated. The very small group of people who make decisions on money, who have no obligation to justify themselves before the public, can allow themselves to interpret the regulations and social interests--and life goes on. The fact that this hurts the reputation of the League of Communists, however sporadic these occurrences may be, is not reflected on. However, that is the main thing: the League of Communists bases its authority on the reputation which it rightly enjoys with the masses. It is therefore in the interest of the League of Communists in the struggle for progressive changes in this stage of the revolution to involve the entire rank and file of the LCY. A rank and file, of course, informed about everything that is essential to the functioning of the party's activity, which certainly would include financing of the LCY.

7045

CSO: 2800/26

PERFORMANCE OF ARMY PLAY SUSPENDED AT BELGRADE YOUTH THEATER

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 84 pp 22-25

[Article by Miroslav Kos: "Jesus Was Not in the JNA"]

[Text] The text of "Vision of Jesus Christ in the Barracks of Military Post 2507" by author Iva Bresan, made into a presentation by the Susret youth theater, was to be seen by spectators at the Godofest summer festival in Belgrade twice this summer. The performance did not take place, however. Two months before, young people from the Cukarica opstina in Belgrade, the sponsors of the Susret theater, decided that it would not be shown after the third performance. Much more about this was said, but not written, in the capital.

In fact, many people felt that the very discussion of this presentation was harmful and complex because it required a debate about the milieu where the author located the action of his work--the Yugoslav National Army.

There was no reason for keeping silent, however. The presentation itself begins as a classic military sketch in which the negative roles are distributed according to a biblical prescription and it concludes with an unconvincing and contrived ending. Bresan, with whom we spoke, claims that the presentation was prepared in accordance with his unfinished text from 10 years ago, which also must have suffered certain dramatic reversals, and that the presentation itself does not under any circumstances portray the state of affairs in our army, nor does it intend to. Thus, the immediate, initial propellant for the whole "case" is shown not to be any esthetic, universal, philosophical, ideological, or antidogmatic element of the presentation; rather, the focus is merely the fact that the action of this "military-biblical sketch" is placed in a so-called taboo milieu. This in fact devalues the entire presentation, because it functions at the level of a simple joke. Why shouldn't we talk about it?

Naturally, this is only the first part of the story about the presentation itself. Another fact is the "show about the show" that proceeded according to the usual ritual. "Jesus," however, should have been left to die on his feet and not on the cross again, just as it happened to several similar presentations in the capital without a great deal of pomp.

Very good!

"We serve the people!"

These are the words that the actors at the Susret amateur youth theater were to use to say farewell to the audience at the end of each performance of the show "Vision of Jesus Christ at the Barracks of VP [Military Post] 2507." They did this three times, but as matters currently to the show itself!

Immediately after the premiere, comments were heard that the show was not "quite clean". They came, naturally, from certain spectators. The actors and director Milan Karadzic felt that everything was in order. The theater accepted their position, and so two more performances were shown, in addition to the premiere. After this there was a long discussion, with the participation of representatives of sociopolitical organizations from the Mihajlovac local community (where the theater is located), the Cukarica opstina, young people, veterans, and members of the theater.

After Internal Disagreements

After these discussions, there was a meeting of the Presidium of the Dimitrije Tucovic KUD [Cultural and Artistic Society], under the auspices of which the theater operates, at which it was decided that the show would no longer be performed. Admittedly, the vote was taken at an "incomplete" meeting of the Presidency (6 of 11 members were present), but the decision was adopted, and there is no more "Christ" in Cukarica. The explanation: "The presentation, in view of its thematic orientation, the structure of its content, and its unidimensional significance, may objectively give rise to undesired ideological and political implications, and may be the subject of various kinds of manipulation and abuse."

"The desire of all of us was to have an involved presentation, something through which we could prove our maturity and readiness to handle this work...For 6 whole months Susret was unable to prepare a single show because of internal disagreements, or rather divided views about a future orientation. Consequently, we decided that we had to do shows that were 'strong' enough that all those who watched it and participated in it would not remain indifferent and that they would be included in the dialogue, and that, to put it simply, they would be made active participants in the dramatic performance. A great deal of work was invested, the show was carefully prepared, and at the premiere the theater was full," says Branimir Knezevic, the president of the Presidency of the Dimitrije Tucovic KUD.

All of this was in fact "stirred up" by the writer Ivo Bresan, from whose script the presentation was staged. His previously unpublished work, which has only been performed three times, deals with an unusual "vision" of Jesus Christ at a barracks of the Yugoslav National Army, in years shortly after the war. Three or four soldiers claim that they have seen Jesus, head and beard, and furthermore in front of a "wet knot." The officers try to persuade the soldiers that this is impossible, that Jesus is some sort of imposter or that they have imagined this. Captain Ristic sets an ambush for "Jesus," and he actually appears.

Confused, the captain does not succeed in doing anything or verifying whether this is a deception. "Jesus" goes away and the plot now becomes completely tangled. How to explain to the soldiers that they did not see what they have seen? Since Captain Ristic has a bad relationship with his immediate superiors, who are still accusing him of the death of more than 200 people during the war, the commander in chief of the barracks suggests to Ristic that he "play" the role of Jesus Christ! Supposedly they will catch him dressed up as Jesus and explain that he has done all this for some reasons of his own, and in return he will receive a transfer to another remote barracks where he will be removed from the attacks of his superiors, and the inconvenient questions of the soldiers. Everything is performed in accordance with the prepared scenario. Nevertheless, Ristic's quarrels with his superiors continue, and as the culmination, the news comes that "Jesus" was actually a fugitive from a nearby hospital for mental illnesses...

A Life of Unimportant Details

The first and second repeat performances were thus only preludes to the main "shows" that were performed in Cukarica. The writer of these lines also attended the next discussion. It was not clear to him, or to a considerable number of those present, what the competence of the esteemed assembly was, nor what the consequences of these "conflicts of opinion" were. Velibor Lapcevic, the chairman of the section on culture of the OK [opstina committee] of the Cukarica SAWP, which organized the talks, said:

"I am only here so that we can exchange opinions and see what are the possible messages of the show and also, its possible social implications."

It was difficult to draw a conclusion from this kind of statement about the future fate of the show. Then Nedelijko Popara, a sociopolitical activist for many years in Cukarica, spoke up and read a statement he had previously prepared:

"...Does this show really serve the people? What can a person conclude about the JNA after this kind of show? What kind of officers are these, and what kind of soldiers? All of this is narrow, banal, contrary to what really exists, and even scandalous! One has to be naive to accept these messages! The life of the unit is concentrated on unimportant details, on 'witchhunts.' According to this view, anyone can get into our military installations in any way he likes, and can undermine the morale of the soldiers and officers as he wishes...What would those who have served in the army say to this? The introduction of the figure of a mentally ill person clearly express the author's desire to show what the milieu where the barracks is located is like--mentally disturbed! The sparkling military humor is only a carefully prepared cover beneath which other messages are concealed. The author has explained why Christ is at this military post, but why here in Cukarica, in front of our highest leadership?"

Such a statement, from which we have passed on only the most significant parts, narrowed the possibilities for a discussion and reduced it to the limits of one-sided criticism. The views became very quickly and clearly polarized, which clearly could not lead to the kind of dialogue that was necessary.

Aleksandra Vojnovic emphasized that the young people had unanimously taken a position in favor of the show and that she did not understand why someone had organized a discussion again.

"We are no longer being asked to think about the show here, but rather to take a position for or against it!" Aleksandre said.

Milan Krsmanovic took the floor several times and stressed that he was surprised by "the failure of the artistic form of the work."

"Was it well done for this work to be possible--and I would call it an ordinary pamphlet aimed against this revolution! This is a farce! How is it that the theater...What is it called? Susret!...How is it that the theater, one of which I have thus far heard a considerable amount of wonderful things, does not have a program council? And how is it that it became involved in a project contrary to the norms of this society, and even in criminal activity?!"

"It is obvious that tonight an attack has been made here upon the JNA and this society!" Milan Peric, chairman of the Belgrade UK of the SSO [Socialist Youth Alliance] began his discussion. "But this attack was not made by those that some people believe. It is a disgrace to this society that old revolutionaries talk like this about a show that speaks honestly about human weaknesses, which does not even pass over the army, even if it is ours..."

"That is an absolute lie!" said the older man with the glasses, who in his excitement did not present himself to those present, and then he added, "I am standing up against this show because it is a lie and I am convinced that I am telling the truth! I am sorry for these young people! They were prisoners of a lie! I myself was a witness of those times and I assert that this thing we have seen is not the truth, it was not like that!"

The theater director, Goran Cvetkovic, tried to get the discussion somehow to where it would yield results and justify his aim.

"Let us be a little more sincere. In all these people, I most of all see myself and general human weaknesses. Perhaps some of those present are being too sensitive about the fact that it takes place in the JNA. I think that the writer took the JNA as an example of a milieu in which a hierarchical structure is expressed. At one time we had similar stories in the setting of some kind of gas pump, as Lola Djukic did, but we laughed at that!"

"We Are the Winners"

For Milos Bukvic, the show is an "integral part of the propaganda being conducted against the JNA," while an active officer praised the dramatic structure of the show, and even invited the actors to perform it at his barracks, but only if they wore the uniforms of some other army, and not ours!

Sojko Lazovic, member of the Presidium of the Cukarica OK of the SSO, says that the youth organization has not taken an official position on the whole case because only three or four members of the Presidium have seen the show, but all of this is a "continuing issue" for the Presidium.

"The whole business has served as an initiative for some other talks on culture in general!" says Prvoslav Vuckovic, the executive secretary of the Cukarica LC Opstina Committee. "All these people who participated in the discussion think that they did good work. At the beginning there were demands that everything be cut off immediately and that an assembly of citizens of the local community be convened, but we insisted on a dialogue. It is a great matter that we have had a dialogue, an open one, for the good of the culture of this opstina as well. I think that we have all come out of this together as winners?"

"I think that a ban would have more serious consequences than if the show were performed," asserts Dr Dragan Klaic, a professor at the Faculty of Dramatic Arts and the theater critic of POLITIKA.

"Why wouldn't we be free enough to talk about the moral aspect of officers as well, to have a conflict of opinions, but all with the show being performed? The JNA has a taboo position, and it is obvious that the theater wants to remove this taboo, like any other, after all. I think that this breach will be attempted in the youth theater before it is in the Yugoslav Dramatic Theater or the Croatian National Theater."

It is undeniable that the show raises many issues regarding dogmatic thinking, religion, awareness, authority, and conscience...This is its greatest value. There are also elements in the show that are exaggerated and that can hurt the feelings of those who endured the terrors of the war, but we must know that nevertheless, this is just a show whose farcical structure is dominant, while the edge, above all, is directed more universally against hierarchies--in the sense of monopolies on reason and truth.

9909

CSO: 2800/9

AUTHOR DENIES INTENT TO ATTACK JNA

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 84 pp 24-25

[Interview with Ivo Bresan by Ivo Mikulicin: "It is Not a Picture of Our Army"]

[Text] "The Presentation of Hamlet in the Village of Mrdusa Donja," "The Evil One at the Philosophical Faculty," "Death of the Chairman of the Building Council," "Formal Dinner at the Funeral Parlor," "Archaeological Excavations at the Village of Dilj," "Anera," and "Vision of Jesus Christ at Military Post 2507," along with the scripts for the films "Hamlet from Mrdusa Donja," "Savior," and "The Secret of Nikola Tesla," are the work of a contemporary Yugoslav writer, 48-year-old Prof. Ivo Bresan from Sibenik. The author has won the "Gavelina" award twice and the "Sterijina" award once. His works, especially "Hamlet," have been translated or performed in Poland, Austria, West Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, Great Britain...

Thus there is no need for a special reason for an interview with him. Nevertheless, at a time when one more script is emerging in Bresan's "home office" (the script for Bulajic's new film, which would actually be a continuation of the old "Train Without a Schedule"), the first subject that is "galling" us both are the stories about a controversial show based on his script.

The performance of the play "Vision of Jesus Christ in the Barracks of Military Port 2507" caused stormy reactions and divided opinions in Belgrade...

[Answer] I know little about it. On the contrary, I did not even know in time that the play would be shown. I only received an invitation from the Belgrade theater "Susret" two days before the preview. I was not able to come, because of obligations at my job in the Sibenik Cultural Center, where I am an artistic director. I hear from unofficial sources that after the show, the opinions on the work were divided. Some of them, mostly my fellow writers, defended me, and others attacked me under the slogan "this is not a picture of our army." And the consequence, I hear, is a quiet recommendation that the play be dropped from the repertory.

[Question] Reportedly the same play also had similar problems in Slovenia?

[Answer] No, never, because it was neither published nor performed there. You are probably thinking of the difficulties that I had with the work "The Evil One at the Philosophical Faculty." But I would not like to talk about that now, since the play is still being performed there, and so I cannot discuss the legal problems.

[Question] "Jesus Christ in the Barracks" remains controversial, however. Thus your view of this work is of interest...

[Answer] I wrote it a long time ago and I do not consider it finished. It seems to me that there are several dramatic weaknesses in it that require additional work. Since I have never offered this play to anyone, however, I postponed this revision for some better future time. It is probably because I knew that it would be difficult to get it published or performed. Not because it would be sharper than other plays that I have written--in the political sense, it is even milder. The awkward thing, however, is that it takes place in the Army, and that can bother people, since the Army is a very sensitive thing to discuss in this country. It happened quite accidentally that it was performed. I gave the script to a friend in Belgrade to read. He did not return it to me. The members of the Belgrade theater "Susret" came to him, and thus the show was born, along with the problem.

[Question] The problem, as you said, has its roots in the fact that the action takes place in the Army. Is there any other particular reason for the controversial nature of the work and the show?

[Answer] I think that basically a mistake was made, which is after all characteristic with respect to my works. People always think that there are primarily political plays and that I am trying to express a political position through them. I have never, however, done political theater, since political theater is the theater of a thesis, which uses the stage to support this thesis in some way. What I am talking about through my works is as a rule a universal human theme. For example, my "Hamlet," like Shakespeare's, portrays the same human relationships. Corruption and knavery on one hand, and on the other, human idealism and the defeat of that idealism. However, when I put these universal problems in the context of our modern situation, which is unfortunately a political one, because politics cannot be avoided in this regard, then they seem like political plays. They seem to be, although they are no more political than Shakespeare's or Moliere's were, if we view them in the context of that time. Specifically, we do not know much about that time today, and it does not apply to us, and so we only see what is universal in these writers and their works. Still, I have the misfortune of living today, and I put what I want to say in the context of the contemporary situation, so I cannot avoid the political nature of this contemporary situation. Politics is part of life, and those are the roots of the disagreement over my plays. In the work "Vision of Jesus Christ in the Barracks of Military Post 2507" I also wanted to put a universal human theme in the context of a situation in the Army. That theme is precisely the relations that are presented in the Gospels: Pontius Pilate, Judas, Jesus... Thus my purpose was not to portray the Army or to use this play to show what our army is like. The Army only served as a framework. And consequently a discussion of "is our army like that or not" is pointless.

[Question] Criticisms, divided opinions, bans on the performance of certain works, but also recognition--that is your literary fate. Is the everyday of a modern Yugoslav writer an easy one?

[Answer] It is not, since you always have to break through the prejudices and bad habits of people who see in a play what is ephemeral and not what is essential. This has to do with the lack of esthetic education of part of the audience, which sees things literally and comprehends them literally. Thus, if a play is set in the Army, they think that you exclusively wanted to portray the Army. This would be approximately like when someone claimed that Shakespeare's "Hamlet" was primarily a picture of Danish circumstances at a certain time, and not a universal human theme. Today no one cares what circumstances were like then in Denmark. "Hamlet" would be what it is even if you assumed that everything was completely invented and that none of that had ever existed in Denmark.

[Question] Does this mean that you completely renounce a critical attitude with respect to our contemporary circumstances?

[Answer] No, this is not a rejection of a critical attitude. This critical attitude is not the only purpose in the work. My primary purpose is not to criticize society, or any specific circumstances. My purpose is to present some human problem, which is "mine" at this time and which was likewise the problem of writers in the past. But it is logical that I present the problem in the context of my own time, and so in a certain way it is also a criticism of this time. The criticism cannot be absent, but criticism is not the primary purpose.

[Question] Do you believe that your controversial work--when you finally finish it--could still be shown in the future?

[Answer] I do not believe so. If I believe that, I would certainly have offered it to someone in the ten years or however many since the work emerged. The "Belgrade" performance was more than accidental, and I do not believe that anyone will show "Jesus" again.

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16 Nov 1984